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An Exposure of the man-
creations and Corruptions
of the Executive Government
and of Congress. 1872





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AN EXPOSURE

OF THE

MALVERSATIONS AND CORRUPTIONS

OF THE

EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT & OF CONGRESS.

THEIR USURPATIONS, PROFLIGACIES, FAVORITISM, IMBECILITY, NEPOTISM, OFFICIAL SINECURES, AND NEGLECT OF DUTIES.

The Robberies of the Indian Ring, the Railway Ring, the National Bank Ring, the Bonded Debt Ring and the Eastern Protection Interest Ring; amounting in all to One Hundred Million Dollars a Year.

That the dem-resident committee Washington

The leading object of this appeal to the people concerning public affairs is to point out plainly and directly the malversations, corruptions, and other like infamies of the Government and of Congress with assimilated Executive agencies throughout the country, and to establish their verity beyond peradventure or doubt, *out of the mouths of Republican witnesses.* By the astounding atrocities in question, *labor, or the products of the national industry, are swindled out of at least one hundred millions of dollars (\$100,000,000) a year,* (over and above what of taxes is necessary for the proper support of the government) to swell the coffers of the bloated class interests in the East, and those of corrupt office holders, and their "rings" of affiliated public plunderers.

Reserving comment and reflections upon the point of the wide spread private and social demoralization that has come of the crying public sin and shame, as plague and pestilence spring from physical rottenness or pollution, it is proposed to take a passing glance at some of the mischievous and wicked practices which, if of minor guilt as compared with the literal plundering of the means of the people to minister to the coarse and wanton cravings of the class money interests of the East, are nevertheless things of such public magnitude, notoriety and scandal as to command place in what is intended to be a *general indictment in plain facts* explicitly stated, and not in mincing or roundabout phrases, or in aught set down in malice, of the Radical party now in power and place in nearly all public trusts in the land. These may be classed under the several heads of 1, USURPATION, 2, PROFLIGACY, 3, FAVORITISM, 4, IMBECILITY, 5, NEPOTISM, 6, OFFICIAL SINECURES, and 7, NEGLECT OF DUTY, all which are almost convertible terms for mercenariness, venality and corruption, and are certainly the first fatal steps in this direction, if not indeed the Bohun Upas source of all blasting public mischief, misfortune and disasters.

As to the Congressional imbecility, reference will be more particularly had in another portion of this discussion, but in connection of the traditional odiousness to the American people of appointing members of Congress to Executive positions, which they now in so many instances especially dishonor, what intelligent and right thinking citizen does not feel humiliated for his country by the fact, that a man of the feeble abilities, the mean and narrow views, the *inflated*, pompous manners and demagogical devices of a Washburne should, because of his attaching himself to the interests of a fortunate and remarkably pampered military chief, be elevated to the exalted station of Secretary of State, to give him a credential or an undeserved *eclat*, to the end that he might not be utterly tabooed by the accomplished diplomats of Christendom, who are unfailingly designated by their governments for the conspicuous position of minister to the court of St. Cloud.

Nor is this grave political offence of the administration of General Grant, at all mitigated by the fact that the scholar, historian, and experienced diplomat, Motley, who has high name in circles of ministerial rank of all civilized nations should be thrust from position, out of a feeling of malevolence towards Senator Sumner, because of his opposing the acquisition of St. Domingo, under the circumstances of corruption which enveloped the scheme like a pall, and which seemed to the public sense to be of Executive knowledge, if not of aiding and abetting. It is to be remembered that Mr. Sumner, on the floor of the Senate, pointed to the hands on the clock, indicating that his final act antagonizing the St. Domingo scheme was precisely contemporaneous with Mr. Motley's de capitulation.

The *Notion* (Rep.) thus speaks of this affair :

"Senators now insist on not only confirming the nominations of the Executive, but on making the nominations; and the only mode of exercising any influence over them, or indeed over the public service at all, which the President retains, lies in the power of dismissal. In this way he avenges his wrongs, and snubs, and humiliations. The consequence is that when the report goes abroad that a Senator or Representative is at loggerheads with the Executive, the dozens of poor devils he has got places for begin to shake in their boots, or look about for other means of support, for they know they will be sacrificed in expiation of the great man's sins."

A leading journal, referring to the administration and its foreign appointments, says :

"Frelinghuysen has declined the English mission. He has taken a long time to consider the subject, and has concluded that its acceptance will add nothing to his reputation. An administration must be sunk very low when such a man as Frelinghuysen declines an office heretofore regarded with so much distinction. When this fact became known Grant offered the position to Senator Trumbull of Illinois. The French Minister had already been taken from that State; the President hailed from there, and now he proposed to fill the English mission from the same quarter.

"It is now stated that Trumbull declines. And so the great office goes a begging under Grant's administration."

It has been hinted about the Departments at Washington that General Grant takes exceptions to the handsome manner in which Mr. Motley lives in London, but in this respect he certainly cannot approximate the luxuriousness of the President himself in respect to extravagant appurtenances, in style, and in the volatile habits which are so inconsistent with the dignity and duty of the Chief Executive Magistrate of the nation. It is stated also, that Mr. Motley has offended in not following the precise letter of instructions of a President and Secretary of State of feeble abilities, in effecting nearly the same class of treaties that were negotiated under the Johnson administration, and which for the purposes of a partizan "hue and cry," were rejected by the United States Senate. It is just possible that Mr. Motley does not feel that it is consistent with American honor, and interests to negotiate further treaties in the nature of compromise as to territories, boundaries, fisheries, &c. with our old and inveterate foe.

THE INEFFICIENT CABINET.

Concerning the inefficiency of Cabinet Ministers, all of whom but one or two of inferior rank at this date, are following the example of the Chief Executive and show official of the gift enterprise administration, together with numerous bureau officers, and a flood of clerks, it is only necessary to adopt the forcible presentment of the leading Republican paper of the North-west, the *Chicago Tribune*—in the words “that the Cabinet officers were nobodies before they were appointed, nobodies in their positions, and it is a matter of no sort of consequence if they were one and all away from their posts.” Referring to the ruling member of the Cabinet, Boutwell, the *Nation* (Rep.) says: “The fact would seem to be that the Secretary of the Treasury has a hatred of statistics, or, at best, a disbelief in them, which might be called very curious if it were not so common among the men who have been most influential in the recent history of the country. Mr. Wells, the great writer against high tariffs, for example, gathers together from all parts of the country, and studies and tabulates, a mass of figures capable, in the hands of an instructed statistician, of showing with accuracy what is to be our next corn crop or our next wheat crop, or cotton or wool crop—a source of information, one would think, which a financial minister might be thankful to have ready to his hand and be able to use in making his scheme of taxation. But Mr. Boutwell is capable not only of declining to use it, but of contradicting its conclusions on the strength of what he himself had observed from a car window when travelling up and down the country. Something like this we have heard of him, and there is nothing incredible in it, incredible as it ought to seem. Men of his kind do not care for figures, nor believe that there is a science of statistics, still less that upon it is based the science of society; and the political training which he has had has done nothing to develop in him anything but a sort of impatient contempt for people who insist on the necessity of scientific legislation. The best part of his training he got among the set of men, many of them able and most of them as honest as himself, who have for ten or twelve years past been navigating so successfully by merely keeping two or three of the great moral headlands in sight, that it is some time since they dropped the compass and quadrant overboard, and became careless, if not sceptical and scornful, as to any other part of seamanship than crowding canvass. And the worst part of his training he got in the school that thinks enough is said when it can say that it has got a majority in the last fall elections, and a very good show—if the proper number of brass-band speeches are made in the rural districts—for carrying the elections next fall.

“We do not disguise our belief that it is little less than calamitous that a man so strong in his convictions, so narrow in his views, so uninstructed, and so saturated with the spirit of “practical politics,” should have obtained the ascendancy which Mr. Boutwell seems to have obtained over the mind of General Grant.”

GRANT'S DESERTION FROM THE WHITE HOUSE AND OF HIS OFFICIAL DUTIES.

The disreputable practice by the Executive head of the nation, of the habit of constant and continual absence from his post of duty, of course renders him utterly unfitted for that studious consideration of great public questions which is literally imposed by the Constitution, and is therefore a matter of serious State necessity. General Grant seems to have had a sort of prescience when he wrote to Mr. Morris, of Illinois, that his being a candidate for the Presidency would be a great public misfortune.

The *N. Y. Sun* (Rad.) thus speaks, with the exception of what is within brackets, of the President:

“The Court Journal in Washington, (Forney's Chronicle,) publishes the following bulletins from the Palace:

“Secretary Cox is the only member of the Cabinet now in the city.”

“Secretary Robeson is expected to return here about the middle of next week.”

[It also published a few days since, that at General Grant's request, an extra box had been provided for him at the theatre, where he could retire to smoke, converse, &c.]

“Ten years ago, a similar announcement would have provoked indignant comment all over the country. But we have made progress since then, especially under the present regime, which in many important respects is modelled upon that of Louis Napoleon.

"In the whole history of the Government, no such flagrant disregard of the public interests and wilful contempt for public opinion have ever been exhibited by any former Administration. The conduct of the President and of his Cabinet in this respect is a shame and a scandal.

"The President has been absent from Washington about one-fourth of the time since his inauguration. He has drawn from the Treasury some \$10,000 in salary for which no pretence of service has ever been rendered. That is to say, he has taken this much pay while running about the country in search of pleasure and amusement, or looking after his personal interests.

"The President receives \$25,000 a year for salary alone, but the appropriations for the White House make it nearly all clear profit. (The report proceeds to say, the White House grounds to which the people have immemorially had access, but from which they are now excluded, are all kept up at public expense.) Secretaries, clerks, messengers, steward, servants, gardeners, laborers, lights, fuel, stationery, green house, kitchen garden, stables and numerous other items are paid for out of the pockets of the people. These appropriations, which were wholly unknown a few years ago, have grown up gradually, until they now sum up tens of thousands annually.

"With all these advantages, the President might at least set the example of remaining at his post, even if incompetent to discharge the duties properly. The effect of this sort of strolling absenteeism is to bring the Presidency into discredit, besides showing a want of appreciation of the dignity and responsibilities of that high trust on the part of the incumbent.

"The Queen of England, who reigns but does not govern, is rebuked for her absence in Scotland at this crisis. Here is a telegram from London, published by a coincidence on the day when the Washington Court Journal announced the absence of all the Cabinet but one member.

"DISPLEASED WITH THE QUEEN.—There is deep displeasure here at the retreat of the Queen to Balmoral at this crisis, and some persons urge a regency, with the Prince of Wales at its head.

[It is susceptible of proof that at a gathering of Radical members of Congress in the rooms at the National hotel, of a reckless Senator of Michigan, who it is stated took offence when abroad at Mr. Motley, on the occasion of Mr. Lincoln's going to Hampton Roads to confer with rebel commissioners relating to peace measures, it was proposed and emphatically urged to depose him, and one Senator, more fierce and violent than the rest, indulged the hope that the steamer carrying him would be blown up.]

"In monarchical England the Queen is called to account for leaving Windsor, although she has little if any responsibility in carrying on the Government, while in this republic the President, who is charged with seeing the laws executed, turns his back upon the capital and upon his duty.

"Of course the members of the Cabinet follow the example of their chief, and abandon their offices to the clerks, although paid \$8,000 a year for attending to them. Is it to be wondered at that the public service is demoralized from top to bottom, that corruption is the order of the day, that frauds are concealed, and that looseness, disorder, and venality prevail through the Departments?

"The very men who thus desert their places for pleasure are those who impose the most slavish and degrading rules on their subordinates. Factory regulations have been set up by Mr. Bancroft Davis, Mr. Fish, and others, which are absolutely disgraceful. Clerks must record the hour of coming to office and departure from it, and deduction is made for all loss of time."

Since the above publication from the *N. Y. Sun*, edited by Mr. Dana, who for so many years was the managing editor of the *N. Y. Tribune*, several of the leading papers of London have come out in strong denunciation of that mere effigy of power, the Queen, for her absence at Balmoral. They also advocate the creation of a regency.

An examination of Forney's *Chronicle*, the Court Journal of Washington, shows that the President has been absent from his post of duty in dozens of times—some of them for a long period at the resorts of fashion and folly. These discreditable practices have been often committed when Congress has been in session, and even at its last hours when the rush of legislation often demands the keenest scrutiny of the Executive, and should too, in some cases of reckless current legislation, have called out that exercise of the veto power which the Constitution requires. And here it should be stated that previous Presidents and Cabinet Ministers were nearly all very able statesmen, to whom men of all parties could look with pride, and who possessed the conceded high qualities of capacity, ability and learning, to which were joined habits of strict and laborious attention to their official duties and responsibilities.

It is not in the nature of things, that General Grant, when mingling with the frivolous votaries of fashion at the watering places near New York city, or flying from point to point across the continent, can give any proper attention to state subjects, or present other messages to Congress in important emergencies than the late feeble one for the extension of the session.

The late proclamation of neutrality was not "*done in Washington*," so far as his or Secretary Fish's devising, writing or signing it was concerned, but it was "*done*" by some one of the clerks there, (who are the only class that are reliably at the capital.) General Grant in an excursion to Europe, and as a temporary member of King William or Napoleon's staff, would be just as much at Washington as when purporting to be there at the "*doing*" of the neutrality proclamation.

At the very least, General Grant and Mr. Boutwell could have attended Admiral Farragut's funeral, which was but a short ride from them. Concerning this a leading journal says:

"It certainly was a most singular fact that no official representative of the Government was present at Admiral Farragut's funeral, last week. Singular indeed. General Grant was at Long Branch, while the old fighting sailor's remains were being borne to their last repose. Why was he not present to represent the Government on the occasion? He can travel hundreds of miles to see a horse race, but not a foot to honor the man who spent his life in the service of the nation, and under its flag."

A SINECURE OFFICIAL.

While this paper is in process of preparation, Mr. Secretary of the Treasury Boutwell, is again in Massachusetts, where he intends to spend the protracted term of near two months, (his salary going on meantime, when that of clerks, females particularly, is frequently docked for slight irregularities.) Mr. Boutwell is much engaged in making electioneering speeches in the interests of the class monopolies of that section of the country, which has been enriched by the legislation of Congress, stimulated by his favorite, fostering, and sustaining authority.

In the protracted absence of Mr. Boutwell, his place is supplied by Mr. Richardson, whose office is a mere sinecure, he being in Washington not above a fourth of the time, while at the same time he is the incumbent of a valuable office in Massachusetts. This Mr. Richardson is not the only example of favoritism of the President and Mr. Boutwell, for at the very last session of Congress, *when so many true objects of public expenditure were postponed or defeated by the pretentious economy* of Mr. Dawes, Chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, an appropriation of \$20,000, was slyly secured by the influence of said Dawes and Boutwell for distribution (as additional to their already large salaries) among a few pampered clerks of the Secretary's office, which clerks are no more entitled to such extravagant gratuity than other clerks of the Treasury Department, or of other branches of the public service. Concerning the favoritism of Mr. Boutwell in profligate squandering of public money in like manner last year, Gen. Morgan of Ohio, in his address to his constituents thus speaks:

"In consequence of an anonymous letter received by me, on the 17th of January last, I offered a resolution, which passed the House, embracing five interrogatories, calling upon Mr. Boutwell for certain information, and on the 22d of February it was replied to by Executive Document No. 188, which I hold in my hand. The third question called on Mr. Boutwell for "A statement embracing the names of the clerks now in this department other than chief clerks, who receive more than eighteen hundred dollars salary." And I will read from page 6 of Secretary Boutwell's answer, as follows:

"A list of the clerks and their names now (January 17, 1870,) receiving more than at the rate of \$1,800 per annum, other than chief clerks of the bureaus of the Treasury Department." And here follow the names of fifty-nine clerks who receive illegal salaries, varying in amounts from two thousand to five thousand dollars; and the Secretary does not deign to apologize for, or excuse this palpable violation of law, and he continues to pay just such salaries as he chooses and to whom he chooses, and then coolly certifies that he does so."

Is it not a grave question, which wrong the better deserves impeachment, unlawful bestowal of public money upon favorites, or continued and constant absence from posts of duty for any purpose of selfishness whatever?

But more of the favoritism of the Treasury Department:

While small accounts and claims, under instructions, are kept back from payment, (as they are also in all other Department,) vast accounts of that mammoth swindle upon the Government, as ficher of public lands with mines, timber lands, &c., of ¹⁹⁹⁹ great value, are being pushed with indecent haste through the forms of allowance and after the same style that favored parties were served during the war, by which so many officials acquired floods of money through the preferring one claimant over many, or by taking cases out of their turn in respect to the time of their being filed and allowed.

FRAUDS AT THE NEW YORK CUSTOM HOUSE.

It is notorious that the main reason for changing from New York to the other cities of the country, the transaction of what of custom-house business related to imports for said cities, in respect to to appraisals, collections, &c., was because of the corruption of the present custom-house officers, (among whom is the notorious Blatchford,) at New York, who for money, or its equivalent, favors certain New York dealers in the respect of getting their imported goods, wares and merchandise upon the markets far in advance of those of importers in the interior *who do not, if they know how*, resort to bribery of officials. And for this rotten and odious state of things at New York, the people of the country must be heavily taxed for the really unnecessary multiplication of the expenditures in establishing in nearly all the cities of the land the entire machinery, paraphernalia, or arcana of men and things about collections of revenues, such as exist at New York. It embraces for grand custom houses, and government warehouses, and places for thousands of officials, who in process of time will learn and practise the same frauds as do some of the Radical officials at New York. It was admitted in the discussion of the measure in Congress, that a multitude of new avenues to fraud would be opened, [Senator Sprague classed the condition with the general demoralization.] but so strong was the desire to create public expenditures, by appropriations for new Government structures, and also to get more tools of leading politicians battered off upon the public charge in the form of new shoals of custom house officers, that the measure passed.

NEPOTISM.

As to the nepotism of the party in power, or the disgraceful practice of those officials of the higher kind, who control appointments and patronage to select incompetent relatives for the receipt of such, and who cannot make tolerable headway in business circles, it has become so common, that the great offence against decency and against public interest has measurably ceased to be subject of public reprobation. It seems to be construed by politicians that when the people elected them to office, the elevation and place of all their small and feeble relatives was implied.

REPELLING CUBA.

The imbecility of the administration of General Grant has been very conspicuously and hurtfully illustrated by its blundering policy concerning the acquisition of Cuba. The pear is ripe and ready to drop into our laps. The leading presses of all Europe have had articles for a long time to the effect that the destiny and natural tendency of Cuba was to become part and parcel of the United States. A revolution has existed there for near two years, and it is but a day or two since that we had accounts of a victory of the revolutionists and of the transport of more troops to Cuba from poor, old and distracted Spain, whose legal government was so long suspended by the flight of the Queen, which has been hunting all over Europe for an occupant of its throne, and partly has brought on terrific war between two great nations.

The situation has most remarkably favored the acquisition of Cuba, and the public opinion in the country has been nearly unanimous to the effect that the Administration counsels in the matter have been in the highest degree injurious, since that it cannot be gainsaid that such acquisition would have been of the greatest possible value to every national interest.

Had General Grant or Mr. Fish, or both of them, declined to put a stop to the enforcement of the neutrality laws, for the reason that the war on the part of Spain was carried

on in a form of atrocity that put her, as to military operations there, out of the pale of nations, Cuba would have been revolutionized months ago, and in the way of acquisition by the United States. Why should not the administration, rather than to have taken steps by which Spain has used our natural resources in the purchase of arms, ships, &c., and by the actual interposition of our fleets to put down the revolutionists have followed the example of our government in all its history concerning the struggle of peoples to cast off foreign yokes, or to establish republican institutions over the down-cast authorities and persons of kings and monarchies? Could not General Grant have bethought himself on this wise, with an advantage to his country that would be worthy of one in a position requiring the execution in a large way of the abilities of a statesman? Could he not have read with profit the following passage from a great speech of DANIEL WEBSTER concerning the Greek revolution, which speech opposed pretty nearly the same policy (that of the Holy Alliance) as that on which General Grant acts, namely to help absolutism against freedom:

"The end and scope of this amalgamated policy is neither more nor less than this, to interfere by force, for any government, against any people, who may resist it. Be the state of the people what it may, they shall not rise; be the government what it will it shall not oppose. The practical comment has corresponded with the plain language of the text. Look at Spain and at Greece. If men may not resist the Spanish Inquisition or the Turkish emir, what is there to which humanity must not submit? Stronger cases can never arise. Is it not proper for us at all times—is it not our duty to come forth and deny and condemn these monstrous principles? Where but here and none other place are they likely to be restricted.

* * * * *

"Human liberty may yet perhaps be obliged to repose its principal hope on the intelligence and vigor of the Saxon race, as far as depends on us at least. I trust our hopes will not be disappointed, and that to the extent which may consist with our own settled pacific policy, our opinions and sentiments may be brought to act on the right side, and to the right end, and on occasion which is in truth nothing less than a momentous question between an intelligent age, full of knowledge, thirsting for improvement and quickened by a thousand impulses, and the most arbitrary pretensions, sustained by unprecedented power."

USURPATIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE.

The most recent case of palpable usurpation by the Executive, is that of sending the United States troops into North Carolina to give endorsement, if not aid and comfort to the infamous Holden, in his effort through wanton acts of cruelty and wrong by a negro militia, to terrorize the people of that State into submission to his rule and raid of ruin. It was not difficult to predict that precisely the opposite effect would come of Holden's atrocious conduct, and therefore it would seem that the reported indications of the adoption of a like policy by the Governors of Florida and Mississippi, and perhaps by Governors of other Southern States have no foundations in point of fact. A burned child dreads the fire, and if the "scallawags and carpet baggers" of the South court a political burial that shall know no glimmer of a resurrection, they have only to imitate the wicked course of Holden, even though they be backed by thousands instead of hundreds of federal bayonets. There is always a limit to the forbearance of the people, and when they are once thoroughly aroused from the almost deathlike stupor that sometimes marks their submission to the arbitrary course of corrupt rulers, they make up a record of condemnation that is never wrong, and is always efficient. It unfailingly consigns the wretches that would put upon them a tyrant's yoke, to a depth of infamy from which there is no returning ebb in the popular thought, but which shall keep due on in time's current to shame and disgrace them and their children, and children's children.

RADICAL PRETENCES OF SYMPATHY WITH PRUSSIA.

Some of the crafty leaders of the party, whose wrongs and outrages are portrayed here are seeking to secure the continued adhesion to them of the German element of our population, by a simulated sympathy for Prussia in the war now going on in Europe, as if that intelligent body of men could thus be made to forget the acts of the party in power to obstruct naturalization, and neutralize, and perhaps destroy the naturalized vote in large cities, by the diabolical agency of what is termed a "police bill," which passed at the late session of Congress; and as if too, Germans could forget or forgive all the other hideous engineering of Radical chicanery and oppression in the form of Sunday laws, prohibitory

liquor laws, and the like legislation of a sumptuary character to infract and stamp out the habits and customs of a people. "To maintain habits and customs, says a great publicist, a people will rouse themselves to greater acts of resistance to what infracts them, than they will against what assails political institutions or forms of government, and even the security of property itself." The German element of population cannot therefore be diverted by the hypocritical cant of Radical demagogues about political affairs in Europe, from that well founded and constantly augmenting feeling of distrust and dislike which is rapidly leading them to an entire estrangement and separation from the Radical party. They, in the coming elections, cannot fail to regard our home issues, or what involves the threshold and the fireside, rather than foreign wars, unless indeed republican institutions shall spring from existing complications.

THE KU-KLUX RAW HEAD AND BLOODY BONES.

But it is principally in the revival, on the eve of the election, of stories about alleged Ku-Klux outrages in the South that the Radical shoal of public plunderers rely "to fire the Northern heart," and turn public attention from them and their astounding infamies. But this game is essentially "played out." It has created so many mischiefs to the business of the country, by keeping up resentments between sections, that even Mr. Akerman, the Attorney General of the United States, and many of the leading Republican presses of the North, have come out in utter repudiation of a further persistence in the base series of falsehoods of carpet-baggers and scallawags, which are almost their entire capital.

On this head the New York *Tribune* speaks as follows:

"We have a word for Governor Holden and Senator Abbott. Just before the North Carolina election we printed a letter from Judge Tourgee concerning the Ku-Klux outrages in that State. Certain very startling statements were made in it, which, but for the respectable signature, would have been universally scouted. Judge Tourgee promptly wrote us, complaining that the figures he had given, in enumerating cases of outrage, had been increased tenfold by the addition of a cypher to each, converting ten into a hundred, etc. Now, we printed the letter precisely as Governor Holden in person delivered it to our correspondent, and as the correspondent understood that Governor Holden had received it from Senator Abbott, to whom it was addressed. We submit to these gentlemen that they have allowed too long a time to elapse without explaining to us how the disgraceful garbling occurred. We should have expected them to be as indignant as we were ourselves at the fraud practiced upon us, and to be prompt in exposing the forger who abused their trust (in copying the letter) by putting into Judge Tourgee's mouth monstrous assertions which he never dreamed of uttering. Governor Holden, who garbled the letter which you gave our correspondent?"

The Nation [Republican] also writes as follows:

"The Northern people are beginning to understand the carpet-bagger tolerably well, and he is on his last legs, no doubt, but every month by which his final end can be hastened is precious; and it is to be hoped that light from all sources may be thrown on his figure till there may not be a man in the Republican party who does not justify the South in its hatred of him, and see why the South is to be partly excused for hating us. A typical carpet-bagger may actually have been a few years ago a bankrupt saloon-keeper, of the ability usual with his class, whose saloon decayed because of a vehement suspicion that it was a house of assignation, and an absolute certainty that it was a very unsatisfactory place in which to eat and drink; he may have been more than half believed to have set his saloon on fire for the sake of getting the insurance money; he may then have been a soldier, known for currying favor, and a petty officer hated for small tyrannies; he may always have been innocent of more education than goes to the reading of the *Ledger*; and yet to-day he may be lieutenant governor of a State, with a prosperous 'ring,' and he may be a Congressman, and a seller of cadetships; or—and here is a chief concern of ours with him—he may be a representative of Northern civilization, an instructor of the negro voter, making him rotten in legislative rascality before he is ripe for suffrage; an agent in reconstruction, and a fruitful source of the hearty hatred for the North, which has so long delayed the peace that is essential. And worse cases than this could be cited. Every Southern State has had its share of them, and the Republican party has suffered in consequence about as much as it is wise to attempt bearing."

A precious exposure of the Radical crew comes from the Washington correspondent of the Cincinnati *Commercial, or Gazette*, [Radical] as follows:

"It seems strange that so little should be known here concerning the real condition of affairs in North Carolina. There is more than a suspicion that but little cause exists for the extraordinary course taken by Governor Holden. One fact, known here to most of the press, has done more than any of the stories from either side on the field of action to throw suspicion upon Holden's movements and create the belief that he has acted only to further the interests of local political factions. And that fact is this: A few weeks before adjournment Senator Pool came to the reporters' gallery and called out a gentleman he supposed to be connected with the Washington *Chronicle*. [Mr. Forney's paper.] He then showed him a North Carolina newspaper, in which there was a collection of Ku Klux outrages, murders, and robberies drawn out at great length. The Senator went on to say quite confidently that it was desirable the *Chronicle* should at once begin the publication of this collection, and keep it up until the statements made should be well disseminated in the North. He further explained the need of this by saying that to carry the State next fall it would be necessary to use the militia extensively, and if this collection of outrages could be well circulated beforehand it would justify the step in the eyes of Northern Republicans. Mr. Pool made the mistake of communicating all this to the wrong man. However, he must have ascertained his mistake afterward, and remedied it, as accounts of dire outrage in North Carolina began to appear the second day after this conversation, and in due time the State militia has appeared upon the scene."

EXPENDITURES OF THE GOVERNMENT IN LAND.

Mr. Dawes, of Massachusetts, Chairman of the Committee of Appropriations in the House of Representatives, made a speech at the beginning of the last session of Congress, in which he charged *his*, the Grant administration with the commission of greater extravagance and profligacy of expenditure, than that of the previous administration. This statement was based upon the appropriations of the previous session of Congress, and the estimates of heads of departments for the late one. This exposure created a great *furor* against Mr. Dawes; but it served to terrorize the unscrupulous element to some extent, and prevented the passage of some schemes of a plundering character. This was from fear of the people at the fall elections. But it is well understood that *at the next session* the flood-gates of profligacy are to be opened, when a perfect *coup de grace* to the best remaining portions of the public lands is contemplated. That which a few years ago was supposed to be the almost boundless and endless inheritance of poor labor—the public lands which under the homestead and pre-emption policy of the old statesmen assured millions small farms and livings to the "*plain people*," (Mr. Lincoln's phrase) in nearly all the portion of the country west of the Ohio river to the stream—

"Whose sands are amber
And whose pebbles gold."

All such valuable public lands, it is repeated, have either passed into the hands of "railroad rings" or are fast tending in that fatal direction. Trunk lines and lateral lines of railway, bringing on all sorts of Indian difficulties, will soon absorb all the best public lands into the hands of great railway speculators and operators, and the day of cheap lands to poor labor will be gone forever. The vast possessions of new millionaires, and ten-millionaires, or fifty-millionaires, who, alone or combined, in all-grasping and crucifying corporations, will monopolize the public lands and shut out—

"A brave yeomanry, their country's pride,
Which once destroyed, can never be supplied."

There are now on the House Calendar, waiting action by that body next winter, bills asking for new grants of lands amounting to considerably more than one hundred million acres. These bills have passed the Senate. In that body bills are pending which ask for nearly two hundred millions more. It is estimated that, exclusive of Alaska, the water and mountain surfaces, there does not remain within the public land area more than seven hundred million acres of land available for settlement. So it is proposed to give one-half of this away, and to whom? Why, corporations, the very creation of which, in their present unrestrained form, are but monopolies of the most powerful character, sure, if left to themselves, to control legislation in the support of privileges dangerous in results. It is to be remembered, also, that of the \$22,000,000,000 at which the real estate of the country is now valued, it is estimated that at least \$18,000,000,000 is the result merely of speculation. From such causes grow the monstrous disproportions of wealth and poverty from which our commercial civilization groans.

The general public are little aware of the enormous subsidies that have been given to moneyed corporations in the shape of land grants within the last eight years. From a careful inspection and compilation, it is found that they amount to 173,274,158 acres, as follows:

| | 1862. | Acres. |
|--|-------|-----------|
| July 5—Chicago and Northwestern..... | | 375,680 |
| April 22—Chicago and Northwestern..... | | 1,800,000 |
| July 12—St. Paul and Pacific..... | | 725,000 |
| Total..... | | 2,900,680 |

1863-4.

| | | |
|--|---|-----------|
| March 3—Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston..... | } | 2,500,000 |
| July 1—Atchinson, Topeka and Santa Fe..... | | |
| “ Union Pacific and Southern Branch..... | | 350,000 |
| May 5—Toneah and Lake Superior..... | | 675,000 |
| “ St. Croix and Lake Superior..... | | 580,000 |
| “ Branch to Bayfield..... | | 215,000 |
| June 7—Grand Rapids and Indiana..... | | 531,200 |
| July 2—Sioux City and Pacific..... | | 580,000 |
| May 12—Minnesota Valley..... | | 150,000 |
| “ McGregor and Sioux City..... | | 1,536,000 |
| “ Sioux City and St. Paul..... | | 235,000 |
| June 2—Burlington and Missouri..... | | 191,110 |
| “ Mississippi and Missouri..... | | 116,275 |
| “ Cedar Rapids and Missouri..... | | 123,370 |
| Total..... | | 7,222,955 |

1867.

| | |
|------------------------------|------------|
| May 26—Northern Pacific..... | 20,000,000 |
| Total..... | 20,000,000 |

1868.

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----------|
| Fort Dodge and Sioux City..... | 1,226,163 |
|--------------------------------|-----------|

1869.

| | |
|--|------------|
| Mar. 3—Chicago and Northwestern..... | 188,800 |
| “ Ray de Norquet and Marquette..... | 128,000 |
| “ Marquette and Ontonagon..... | 243,200 |
| “ St. Paul and Pacific..... | 500,000 |
| “ Branch St. Paul and Pacific..... | 750,000 |
| “ Minnesota Central..... | 290,000 |
| “ Winona and St. Peter..... | 690,000 |
| July 28—Memphis and Little Rock..... | 365,539 |
| “ Cairo and Fulton..... | 966,721 |
| “ Little Rock and Fort Smith..... | 458,771 |
| July 4—Iron Mountain Railroad..... | 864,000 |
| July 28—Cairo and Fulton..... | 182,718 |
| July 4—Iron Mountain..... | 1,400,000 |
| July 3—Jackson, Lansing and Saginaw..... | 1,052,469 |
| “ Flint and Peramarquette..... | 586,822 |
| July 13—Lake Superior and Mississippi..... | 800,000 |
| “ Minnesota Southern..... | 735,000 |
| “ Hastings and Dacotah..... | 550,000 |
| July 23—St. Joseph and Denver City..... | 1,700,000 |
| July 25—Kansas and Neosho Valley..... | 2,350,000 |
| July 26—Southern Branch Union Pacific..... | 1,203,000 |
| July 13—Placerville and Sacramento..... | 200,000 |
| July 25—California and Oregon..... | 1,540,000 |
| July 27—Atlantic and Pacific..... | 42,000,000 |
| Total..... | 59,605,910 |

1870.

Mar. 2.—Stockton and Copperopolis..... 320,000

MISCELLANEOUS SUBSIDIES.

By the acts of Congress of July, 1862, July 2, 1864, July 3, 1866, July 26, 1866, and joint resolutions of March 10, 1869, there were granted to the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific, and their branches..... 35,000,000
By the acts of Congress July 2, 1864, and joint resolutions of May, 1866, and April 10, 1869, were granted to the Northern Pacific..... 47,000,000
Total..... 82,000,000

TOTALS.

1862..... 2,800,000
1863-4..... 7,222,955
1867..... 20,00,000
1868..... 1,226,163
1869..... 59,605,040
1870..... 320,000
Miscellaneous..... 82,000,000
Grand Total..... 173,274,158

"There is," says a leading press of the country, "about four times as much land in the above as there is embraced within the limits of the State of Pennsylvania, and if divided into homesteads of one hundred and sixty acres each, would furnish homes for more than one million of families, giving them not only an opportunity to make an honest living, but a chance to accumulate a competence. These lands, too, are the most valuable of all the public domain, and being placed, as they are, in the hands of powerful corporations, will continue to be worthless, so far as the augmentation of the national wealth is concerned, until they are sold at exorbitant prices to actual settlers, without any benefit to the Government. Now, if these lands were to be absolutely given away, would it not have been infinitely better to have given them to the crowded populations of the cities and European emigrants coming hither, to enrich the nation with their labor? Undoubtedly it would, but there would have been no speculation in this for the lobby at Washington, the spoils of which were shared by Congressmen."

THE PEOPLE AFTER THE ROBBERS.

The constituents of Hon. Sidney Clarke, of Kansas, are after him with a multiplicity of very sharp sticks. At a meeting the other day, a committee was appointed to invite his attendance at Olathe on the 27th, where and when an opportunity will be afforded him to render an account of his stewardship. In discharging this duty the committee rather pointedly indicate the nature of the accusations against their Representative. They say:

"You are aware that serious opposition will be made to your re-election to Congress by all the settlers on the Black Bob Reserve, on the grounds, as they allege and believe, that you have betrayed their interests into the hands of speculators; and you have used your official position to defeat them in their efforts to secure titles to their lands, except through the hands of speculators, and that you are generally mixed up in what is termed throughout the State 'The Black Bob swindle.'"

After presenting such an indictment, it seems a little strange that the committee should add, "It is unnecessary for us to say that we will extend to you the courtesies due to all gentlemen."

DEFALCATIONS.

Gen. Geo. W. Morgan has opened the campaign in the Thirteenth Congressional District of Ohio. In a speech of marked power on Tuesday last he made the following statements, based upon facts, which will be of service in this locality:

THREE HUNDRED AND FORTY INTERNAL REVENUE DEFAULTERS.

When I tell you that there has been three hundred and forty defaulters among the collectors of Internal Revenue, you look surprised and ask one another, "Why have we not been told of this before?" For the simple reason, my friends, because the facts have been concealed, and had to be dug out. On the 21st of March last it was resolved by the House that "The Secretary of the Treasury be, and is hereby directed to furnish this House a statement of balances due from collectors of Internal Revenue, *not now in office*, &c.

And I invite your attention to Executive Document No. 267, being the reply of the Hon. George S. Boutwell, in answer to that resolution. Look at it yourselves. Here are eight solid pages of the names of *three hundred and forty defaulters!* I have not time to read them all, but will call off ten, and you may form an idea of what the remaining three hundred and thirty amount to.

| Names of defaulters. | Am'ts of Defalcations. |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| Frank Soule..... | \$1,543,719 |
| Shridan Shook..... | 1,043,547 |
| Alexander Spaulding..... | 439,489 |
| M. B. Field..... | 532,879 |
| Lewis Collins..... | 652,305 |
| John H. Bryant..... | 435,000 |
| W. C. Flagg..... | 227,307 |
| W. T. Cunningham..... | 292,460 |
| D. B. Bonfolly..... | 536,000 |
| F. T. Hunt..... | 250,407 |
| Loss by ten defaulters..... | <hr/> \$5,933,113 |

There is within a fraction of six million dollars of taxes gobbled up by ten defaulters, not one of whom has been prosecuted, or ordered to be prosecuted. In all these three hundred and forty defalcations, civil suits have only been ordered in thirty cases, and not one criminal prosecution.

But this is not worse than the defaults of army and navy paymasters during the war. They number in all above a hundred. Their responsibilities are millions upon millions, and no sureties have been called upon and so the defalcations are total loss, because the statute of limitations has now run against the prosecution of the cases. All this from the political influence of corrupt radical jobbers.

INDEFINITE APPROPRIATIONS.

Passing from the point of Radical profligacy of the public lands for the benefit of shoals of speculators and soulless corporations, it should be stated that the appropriations of the last Congress have only been indicated in any quarter by the adding up the sums named in the several bills or laws appropriating public money. There were at the late session (as there ever is at any session) very numerous indefinite appropriations, or those which provide for objects, not in figures, or fixed sums, but for taking money from the Treasury that is not otherwise appropriated. These indefinite appropriations amount always to tens of millions of dollars, and if the value of the public lands given by this Congress at the late session be computed as of the same class, the indefinite appropriations amount to *a hundred million of dollars*. So frightened were Dawes and other Radical leaders at the great extravagance and profligacy of Congress that they resorted to the wicked plan of suspending the regular appropriations of two years back, a large part of which were yet unexpended, and as a consequence of this wretched and unheard of trick of political schemers, great numbers of accounts and claims, and necessary objects of expenditure, were altogether stopped. A great number of things which should have been appropriated for were not, and deep injury has supervened to the business of the country. The result will be seen early in the next session, by the passage of deficiency bills, or like remedial measures, which will amount to fifty or even *a hundred millions of dollars*.

PLUNDERS OF THE INDIAN RING.

So much having been stated concerning public expenditures, including the rapacity and robbery of the infamous railway rings, it is proposed next to refer to the indescribable official scoundrelism that not only plunders the Indians, but thereby brings on the wars with these poor creatures which cost the Government and people millions and tens of millions of dollars.

With the advent of Radical rule, in 1861, commenced the most stupendous system of frauds and peculations, the half of which if written would fill a volume larger than the Congressional Globe, therefore a brief allusion to a few of these frauds must suffice. During the administration of Usher as Secretary of the Interior, and Dole as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, continued by Harlan as Secretary, and Cooley as Commissioner, more than \$5,000,000 were appropriated by Congress to feed and clothe refugees—Southern Indians in Kansas. This vast sum was expended by the Indian Department, under the direction of well known officials; but it is a fact well known that while the poor Indians received but very little relief from these munificent appropriations, the members of the Indian ring, before poverty stricken enough, suddenly became the owners of magnificent mansions, splendid equipages, lines of railroads, national banks, stocks, and untold thousands of broad acres of lands. Under the management of this infamous Indian ring over 100,000,000 acres of fraudulent half breed Chippewa Indian scrip was issued, mostly, as is believed, to fictitious names, which was made locatable upon the most valuable of our Government lands. This scrip, though issued to Indians, has been in every instance located by white speculators, and in no instance has a piece of it ever been located by an Indian.

This Indian ring negotiated numerous Indian treaties—all gross frauds—by which the Indians were swindled and the Government robbed of vast amounts of money. In these last swindles Jim Lane, Pomeroy, and Clarke, of Kansas, figured extensively as copartners in this Indian ring. The Sac and Fox, the Kansas, the Kickapoo, the Delaware, and the Pottawatomie Indian treaties may be named as instances of these notorious frauds and swindles.

The infamous contract system, inaugurated by the Indian ring for purchasing Indian goods, is another of their means for enriching themselves and impoverishing the Indians and the Government. Every year these Indians get poor goods at high prices, while the ring divides a large percentage—their profits out of the swindling transactions. These contracts amount to many millions of dollars each year. The fact is susceptible of proof that the Indian ring, not content with the swindles and robberies aforesaid, has by misapplication, and other corrupt practices, robbed the vested funds of Indian tribes of enormous amounts; but why continue the subject, which everybody knows is a mass of rottenness and corruption, which a Radical Congress will not and dares not investigate, for the simple reason that such an investigation would bring to light dark and damning transactions, which would cover the perpetrators with infamy and prove ruinous to the Radical party. It is believed that the swindles of the Indian ring amount to over \$50,000,000.

HOW NON-RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENT FEEDS THE CORRUPT RINGS.

Salient, first and foremost, and above all other things which feed, nourish, and sustain the corrupt Congress and extravagant rings is the failure of the government and of Congress to do what is necessary and was right as to the resumption of specie payments. This is the initial point and leading thing in the great public outrage that stains the powers that be. That public offence is as well known to the guilty offenders themselves as to those others who are intelligent in such matters, but they have become brazen, and their consciences are seared as with a hot iron. Gov. Morton, of Indiana, seeks to extenuate and palliate this great wrong and outrage, but like the ghost of Banquo, the wickedness of rulers in this respect, will not down at any bidding.

Let us look at this thing. There are always upon the average, some \$70,000,000 or \$80,000,000 of gold in the treasury. It is much of the time nearly double that sum, but it is subject to large reductions twice a year to pay that enormous interest on the public debt, which Senator Sherman proposed three years ago to reduce to 3.60 upon a long bond consolidating all others—a bond which public policy under action of Congress should enforce, and which position of Senator Sherman was supported by General Butler, and

Thaddeus Stevens, the latter saying that if a reduction of the interest was not insisted upon and adopted he would go over to the Democratic party. The policy of immediate resumption was urged by the *New York Tribune*, when gold commanded more than double present rates. It was also urged by Ex Secretary Chase, now Chief Justice of the United States; his view was thus laconically expressed, "the only way to resume specie payments is to resume;" of course the pretense used by Grant of the impolicy of resumption because of fear of harm to indebted classes, had no weight with him or anybody else, because there is no indebtedness in the sense of debts in other days, but what exists is secured by collaterals in some form. What of debts exists generally has set off. There may be isolated cases of private indebtedness for which the Radical Congress party has provided a bankrupt law. Why should not then the government have resumed specie payments when gold was down to 10 per cent.? If the gold would have commanded that figure—some seven or eight millions in greenbacks—the money which the people are obliged to use by reason of the government hoarding of gold, might have been made by the sales. But no, it could not, because if the government had thrown that amount, or half, or a quarter of it on the market, specie payments would have been resumed at once, just upon the same principal that the menace of putting only \$1,000,000 upon the market, reduced the speculative specie premium from 60 per cent. to 15 per cent. and even a less sum afterwards. If the government had resumed and infused the precious metals once more into the channels of business, more than \$100,000,000 of gold hoarded in private hands would have come out of hiding places, and sought investment. What of benefit would not this accession of real money, (not paper promises of banks,) have been to every form of business? The government would have ceased to be the loser of say \$5,000,000 a year in the form of interest, on gold. The like would be true as to private hoarders. They would be no longer losing interest on the money. The government and the banks have twice resumed specie payments within a generation when gold was at an infinitely higher premium than now. Then why not have resumed when gold was at but 10 per cent. premium or rather greenbacks were but at 10 per cent. discount. And here lies all the law and the prophecy of governmental and Congressional wrongfulness, in this respect.

NATIONAL BANKS.

The reason why the government has not resumed specie payments and thus brought out two or three hundred millions of the precious metals in the country, is because the premium upon gold as compared with greenbacks or the money that the people use, is the pabulum and foundation stone of the leading class interests, which being fostered by the government are eating out the substance, and draining the life blood of the people. It keeps up the National Banking Radical policy—keeps up National banks without reform or pretence of one, upon their extraordinary or unprecedented privileges, and whose power it was sought in vain by Mr. Treasurer Spinner to abridge, and which has such extraordinary hold in the House of Representatives as to have elicited remarks to that effect in Senate proceedings from Senator Sherman of Ohio.

It is not proposed in this argument to assail all and several of National banks, many of which are managed by most reputable men, but the system by which, in the interest of Eastern monetary interests they are run and being multiplied like the frogs of Egypt to flood the country with paper money, for which they have no basis of specie, and which never redeem their notes, and in fact have *little or no specie* in their vaults on bank account, and only as special deposit of private parties who use them for purposes of hoarding as security.

The theory has been advocated by even the more honest class of Republicans, with Mr. Treasurer Spinner at their head, that the capital and number of National banks should not be extended, and that their privileges should be abridged in the public interest, or in other words, that there should be reform in respect to their control of the currency of the people, and that more greenbacks or government money should be issued to supply the currency wants of the people.

The shoddy contractors who hold government bonds, which were obtained for 40 or 50 per cent. on their face, are authorized under the rule of Radicalism to hold them as bank capital, just the same as if they were money. The National banks issue notes to nearly the amount of said bonds and get interest on said notes. Thus it will be seen that the National bank ring gets two interests, one on the bonds and another on the notes that represent such bonds. Now, if these shoddy people who desire to go into the business of banking had to get specie or government money [greenbacks] to bank upon, it would call for greenbacks to the extent of about \$300,000,000, on which the interest would be \$18,000,000. This would be saved in taxes upon the people every year. Now

it is thrown by the government and congressional corruptionists into the hands of capitalists, whose money is in bonds, who in reality do not invest a dollar in money in their banking business. So much for the plundering of the Public by the National banking. With such vast accumulation at the expense of the public, is it any wonder that said banks should have immense power in the House of Representatives as was said by Senator Sherman. What is not the consideration for the exercise of such power?

HOW NON-RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENT FEEDS THE PROTECTED MONOPOLY INTERESTS.

It is a principle of the common law, *that no man shall take advantage of his own wrong.* But the Radical party has done just this thing, by the criminal neglect of its Executive government and by Congress to resume specie payments, and itself force National banks to resume, instead of enforcing it in respect to revenues, so as to add more to the burdens of the people at large. By the criminal failure or neglect in question, *greenbacks are kept at a discount*, and then the political shysters or swindlers who enforce this state of things or depreciation of greenbacks, turn about and say that such depreciated paper, which the people have to take for money, shall not be legally receivable by that bond holding interest, whose bonds, not providing for interest in gold, caused by the payment of the interest on them in greenbacks, would save to the over taxed people tens of millions of dollars yearly. Governor Morton says, in his speech at Lafayette, that he himself was for paying the interest on such bonds by greenbacks issued previously to the negotiating of the bonds, but Congress was not with him even to that extent. Well, if they were not with him, but *rejected* his partially remedial policy, by which he says the people would have saved in taxes many millions of dollars a year, does it not show that his party, in such monstrous majority in Congress, did wrong, gross wrong, foul and wicked wrong in thus deciding to "gild the refined gold" of the purchaser of bonds which purchasers were, to a great extent, shoddy contractors, who had superadded the crime of making vast fortunes, which "no man can number" out of the people in the hour of that extremity which called for the life blood of poor men of all parties, though the rich shoddy contractors could easily part with their money to buy negro substitutes for the military service.

THE NATIONAL DEBT.

These very bondholders refuse to take the money which the people have to take and use, as interest on the paper or bonds of the people, which were procured by usurious and extortionate acts in a dire and distressful hour, but demand gold; and in this they are sustained by a corrupt Congress and Executive Government. A higher, deeper, fouler political crime in rapacity, robbery and swindling could not possibly be committed by the mercenary, venal and corrupt political schemers that are responsible for this unnecessary form of additional and most grinding taxation upon the people. Nor can it be gainsaid by any citizen or tax-payer that they should—every man of them—be driven from power; and that the high places that now know them shall know them no more forever. The form of Gov. Morton's defense of the bondholders is ill and wrong, which asserts that greenbacks, or a currency which is depreciated—say now 16 per cent.—from the specie standard, cannot justly be paid as interest on bonds if issued since the issue of said bonds. That defense of the grasping and avaricious and extortionate bondholders is the same as saying that they bought bonds when greenbacks were fearfully depreciated, as compared with present values, yet they must have higher values now than at the date of the original usurious transaction. An idea so foreign to "right and reason," as is said by Blackstone, an idea so hurtful to the public, and of such extreme favoritism to the rich shoddy contractors, who purchased the bonds with depreciated paper, is wholly and totally indefensible.

EASTERN MONOPOLIES.

The refusal of the Government and Congress to declare for specie payment, by which, as has been shown, the National banks and the bondholders get wrongfully tens upon tens of millions of dollars out of the over taxed people, has also the effect to pour other tens of millions of dollars into the coffers of the mammoth manufacturing monopolies of the East. This huge outrage is effected by the fact that all revenue or tariff receipts must be

paid in gold, (so to make sure that the bondholders shall get their interest in gold, which is a sixth more in value than greenbacks,) and thus the articles imported are enhanced in price to the people who consume the imports by the amount of the difference between gold and paper values. Thus, with a revenue in gold of \$166,000,000, or near that figure, a year, greenbacks at 15 per cent., which is about the present figure, would be required to the amount of \$25,000,000 additional, or about \$190,000,000 is the amount in currency that the people have to pay for imported articles, and, of course, as before said, the difference of value between gold and greenbacks (notes of National banks being included) is so much added to the profit of Eastern manufacturers through the additional protection that is afforded them by the effect of the requirement of gold upon the tariff or revenue from taxation.

THE LATE CONGRESS.

Governor Morton's speech at Lafayette, Indiana, claims credit to the administration for paying off, at the rate of about \$100,000,000 of dollars a year, on the National debt. Why is this the policy of the Radical party? The answer is obvious. It is to keep up the value of the bonds to the bondholders, who now receive 7 per cent. in greenbacks on the 6 per cent bonds, and also to justify an enormous taxation in the form of revenues or tariffs, so that the Eastern manufacturing monopolies may be protected by a literal pillage of the people. The average protection on gold values is from 40 per cent. to 50 per cent., and in greenbacks by a sixth more than these figures.

The Eastern manufacturing monopolies have been served to the extent of tens of millions of dollars by the late reduction of the tariff, which was largely upon the articles that are imported for manufacturing uses, and which, on account of the *quasi* prohibitory nature of the present protective tariff system is so much added to the profits of the Eastern manufactures which cannot be competed with (except upon paying enormous duties) by the foreign manufactured articles. Some forms of taxation have been reduced by Congress, and the aggregate of appropriations have been somewhat lower, but the charge is, and it cannot be repelled or rightly defended, that the taxes were not enough lowered and in the right direction, and that the figure of aggregate appropriations has been but a little lowered by the wicked acts of not making some appropriations that ought to have been made, and which the tricksters promise shall be at the next session; and by that most foul form of outrage and wrong of shutting down upon appropriations made at the two last sessions of Congress upon allowed claims and allowed balances, as well as many others, definite or indefinite, for the current public purposes. As a consequence great numbers of public creditors (in other ways than bond holders) are all thrown on their beam's ends and failures are taking place on every hand. Of course the Congressional tricksters say this shall be remedied as soon as Congress meets again.

This sneaking way of paying so much of the national debt, which ought not to be paid except by future generations, but only the interest upon it, at 3.60. is very costly to the people, who cannot afford to have business interests or public needs badgered, hampered and impeded for the benefit of political tricksters, in forms of the worst scheming character, to enrich the class monetary interests to the extent under all heads, as has been shown of at least a hundred millions of dollars yearly, which are literally forced from labor, or the agricultural and mechanical classes as by the agency of a bloody sweat.

In the views presented, of the profligacy of the people's money for the class interests, can Governor Morton, or any other Radical politician say justly, as did the former, that the taxes on the necessities of life could not be taken off, or can they say that the general taxation ought not to have been reduced to a far lower figure than its present form of exorable proportions. To conclude: perhaps the most shallow and transparent of frauds or tricks is the idea of borrowing money to pay the national debt, of European nations that have no money to lend, but are borrowing themselves to put up stupendous armies in a terrific war of ambition and conquest of rival nations or monarchies, with their emperors or kings, and crafty ministers and other paraphernalia, imperial pomp and circumstance, and all to grind the people to the very dust.

There is but a word to add in summing up this paper, namely, that the hordes who are inflicting such hideous outrage and wrong upon the people should be one and all hurled from power and place, and men of sound and just principles, in hostility to the course of the above named public enemies, should be installed in all leading places of public honor and trust.

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